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West Germany Views the Berlin Crisis

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RESEARCH STAFF
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INTRODUCTION

One of the most dramatic and far-reaching pronouncements affecting Soviet relations with the West was their announcement, first voiced by Premier Khrushchev on November 10, 1958, that the Four Power Status of Berlin was a dead letter. When the Soviets went further on November 27, 1958, and announced that they were going to turn Soviet control functions over to the East Germans, the prospects called forth by this proposal justifiably excited Western capitals.

In an attempt to determine how the average West German citizen viewed these developments, a public opinion survey was executed. A probability sample consisting of 1,710 cases representative of the West German adult population 16 years of age and older, was collected during the period from December 8 through 20, 1958. In reading the results presented in the report itself, the reader is reminded that the meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers took place in Paris December 16-18, 1958. At this meeting full support for West Berlin and the right of the Western Allies to maintain free access to and from the city was pledged.

Interviews were collected by DIVO, Marktforschung - Meinungsforschung - Sozialforschung, GmbH, Frankfurt am Main/Bad Godesberg.

S U M M A R Y

The West German population appears to take the West Berlin situation with remarkable calm. No more than one out of three was found calling the Berlin problem "very serious, with the fate of West Berlin at stake." One out of four actually went so far as to call it "not particularly" or "not at all serious."

Despite their calm, Soviet intentions are clearly understood; getting the West out of Berlin in order to absorb it into the DDR, or forcing recognition of the DDR are recognized by six out of ten. Even the seriousness with which they viewed the situation plays a minor role in people's assessment of Soviet intentions.

In answering the question as to what they would want the Western Powers to do about Berlin, only one out of ten wanted the West to resist with force. The most popular ideas were to "let the U.N. take over", or "deal with the DDR". The latter reaction was found to be strongest in Bavaria. The majority of the West German population either made no response to a question asking what would be the best thing for the Federal Republic to do, or felt that there was nothing that they could do since it is up to the West. Among that minority which did see a role for the Federal Republic, most people wanted them to "appeal to the U.N."

The West Germans see the Soviets and the West as not willing to negotiate about the same topics. Actually only about 30% of the population sees the two power blocs as willing to negotiate about the same topics (regardless of what they saw those topics as being). The Soviets were seen as interested in a demilitarized belt, and in a Peace Treaty (without reunification). On the other hand, the great majority saw the Western Powers as interested in negotiating about German reunification. Opinion within the German population is so consistant on this point that even SPD and CDU adherents see the Soviet and Western positions in the same light.

A further reflection of the calm with which the West German population views the West Berlin crisis is seen in the fact that only a small minority expects trouble in the event that the West refuses to accept the Soviet proposals concerning West Berlin.

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I. How Serious Is It?

IN OPEN QUERY, ONE OUT OF FOUR SHOWED GREAT CONCERN ...

The opening query in the series of questions about the West Berlin situation was a completely free one. That is, it merely asked respondents what they thought would develop from the Soviet proposal to change the status of West Berlin. Respondents were then free to answer whatever they wished. Their answers were coded and then categorized according to the degree of concern their answers showed over the fate of West Berlin.

From the Summary Table below it can be seen that only about one person out of four (25%) seemed to take the matter very seriously, while an additional one out of seven may be considered to have taken it somewhat seriously (14%). There remains, therefore, the great majority who either had no answer to give to the question (35%) or who tended to brush the whole matter aside (28%).

"What do you think will develop from the Soviet Proposal to change the status of Berlin?"

Summary Table		West Germany Dec '58 (1710)
Answers indicating situation is -		
Very Serious		(25%)
Berlin will be swallowed by the Russians	14%	
There will be war, strife, conflicts	8	
All Germany will be swallowed	3	
Somewhat serious		(14%)
The West will not give in	8	
There will be discussions, conferences	6	
Not particularly serious		(28%)
Nothing will change	17	
The Russians will give in	3	
Russia is only bluffing	1	
Miscellaneous answers	7	
No opinion		(35%)
		102%@

@Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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COMMENTS IN DETAIL ...

"What do you think will develop from the Soviet Proposal to change the status of Berlin?"

West Germany

Answers indicating the situation is -

Very serious;

Berlin will be swallowed by the Russians. It will become part of the DDR: 14%

"It will be incorporated in the DDR."
"Berlin will then be left to the Russians."
"It would mean the bolshevization of Berlin."
"Berlin would then be at the mercy of the DDR, for the Russians cannot be trusted."
"Nothing will come of it. It would mean the end of Berlin being a free city."
"Berlin will be lost for the West then, because of its very position."

There will be a (cold) war, strife, conflicts, chaos: 8%

"It means nothing else but the prolongation of the cold war."
"It means a second Danzig. They don't learn from history."
"In all probability, this proposal will not be accepted. Then the Russians will use force."
"It may result in a precarious situation."
"This might cause war."

The whole of Germany will become Communist; Communism will spread further: 3%

"If this proposal is accepted, the whole of Western Germany will become Communist."
"In a few years from now, the Russians will have occupied the whole of Germany."
"In the course of time, all of Germany will fall prey to the Russians."
"Today it's Berlin that would fall to the Russians, tomorrow it will be the rest of Germany."
"The West cannot agree to the Russian proposals because the Russians only aim at spreading Communist ideas."

Somewhat serious:

The West will oppose it. The Western powers will not withdraw from Berlin: 8%

"The West will not give in."
"The West will never give up Berlin."
"I think that the Western powers will stay in Berlin."
"The Russians only try to see how far they can go. I think the Americans will stay in Berlin."
"If the Western powers withdraw their armed forces, the Russians will seize Berlin, but the Western powers will never do that in order not to impair their prestige."

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(Somewhat serious):	West Germany
Discussions, conferences:	6%
"Discussions and a summit conference will come of it."	
"A lot of discussions will be held and that will be all."	
"It is obvious that the Russians are trying to seize Berlin but it is possible that the Berlin issue will be settled by discussions. It is hard to tell, but I don't think there'll be another war."	
"I am sure that through discussions the present status of Berlin will remain unchanged."	
Not particularly serious:	
Nothing will change. Things will stay as they are (no additional comments):	17%
"Everything will stay as it is."	
"Nothing much will happen."	
"The status of Berlin will remain unchanged."	
"Even if the occupation troops left, I think there will not be any essential changes."	
Russia will not succeed. It will give in:	3%
"The Russians will give in."	
"The Russians will not have any success with their proposal."	
"In spite of all efforts to cause trouble, the Russians will not succeed."	
Russia is only bluffing. It only tries how far it can go:	1%
"I'm sure nothing will come of it. I think they are only bluffing."	
"Nothing will happen. The Russians are only probing to see how far they can go."	
"I'm sure nothing will happen. The East is only bluffing."	
"The Russians are only trying to scare us."	
Other answers:	7%
"The East Zone will get defacto recognition."	
"The Russians should leave Berlin but the Western occupation troops should stay on."	
"They should try to come to an agreement."	
"The elections showed what the Berliners want."	
"If we are clever we might achieve reunification."	
"The withdrawal of the armed forces would reduce the danger for us. I hope that all troops leave."	
No opinion	35%
	102%@

@Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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ONLY ONE OUT OF THREE CALLS BERLIN SITUATION "VERY SERIOUS" ...

In order to clearly raise the issue of the "seriousness" of the problem, West German residents were also presented with a four-point scale and asked to indicate how serious they considered the Berlin situation to be. Only one out of three (32%) indicated that they considered the situation to be "very serious with the fate of West Berlin hanging in the balance."

Most people did not appear to be overly excited about the Berlin question, for 29% called it "somewhat serious, but with the status of West Berlin not essentially endangered," and one person out of four was as sanguine as to reply either that the situation was "not particularly" or "not at all serious" (25%). The remaining 14% in making no assessment of the situation must be accepted as people who felt that it could not be a burning issue.

"How serious is the situation over Berlin now?" (CARD)

	West Germany
Very serious; fate of West Berlin is at stake	32%
Somewhat serious; but not endangering present status of West Berlin	29
Not particularly serious; it will blow over	21
Not at all serious; it is just a lot of talk	4
Don't know	14
	100%

IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN, BREMEN AND BADEN-WUERTTEMBERG MORE SAY BERLIN SITUATION NOT SERIOUS THAN CALL IT VERY SERIOUS ...

Study of the answers to this question by the various sub-groups in the West German population (presented on the following page) reveals that their replies were, by-and-large, similar.

Only in comparing the answers obtained from residents of the different Länder is it noteworthy that within Schleswig-Holstein (but not Hamburg), Bremen, and Baden-Wuerttemberg there were actually more people who said the situation was not serious than there were replying that it was indeed very serious. And while it might be statistically more desirable to have larger numbers of cases in the first two Länder in order to place firmer reliance upon this tendency, there can be little doubt of the result in Baden-Wuerttemberg.

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"How serious is the situation over Berlin now?" (CARD)

	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not particularly serious/Not at all serious	Don't know	No. of cases
All West Germans	32%	29%	25%	14%..100%	1710
Sex:					
Men	32	32	31	5	795
Women	31	26	21	22	915
Education:					
Elementary school	31	28	25	16	1399
High school w/o diploma	38	27	27	8	236
Diploma, university	32	43	21	4	75
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	38	17	17	28	53
150 to 299 DM	29	27	21	23	204
300 to 399 DM	29	24	31	16	215
400 to 499 DM 3	35	28	31	6	244
500 DM and more	32	33	27	8	558
No opinion	30	28	16	26	188
No answer	31	28	24	17	243
Age:					
Up to 24 years	29	30	25	16	204
25 to 34 years	37	25	25	13	276
35 to 44 years	34	32	22	12	295
45 to 54 years	30	31	26	13	414
55 years and over	30	26	27	17	521
Party Preference:					
SPD	35	27	29	9	392
CDU/CSU	34	32	22	12	603
FDP	31	31	31	7	39
Other Parties	19	50	21	10	42
No party	29	26	32	13	276
No opinion	22	26	21	31	190
No answer	34	24	22	20	168
Occupation (Breadwinner):					
Professionals	50	25	21	4	28
Businessmen	33	28	28	11	190
White-collar workers	33	33	27	7	335
Skilled laborers	30	31	27	12	338
Semi-skilled laborers	31	31	23	15	239
Farmers; farmhands	24	24	22	30	161
Unemployed	38	25	25	12	16
Pensioners; retired	35	24	23	18	398
Students; apprentices	-	25	25	50	5
City Size:					
Up to 1,999	31	27	20	22	414
2,000 to 4,999	31	29	25	15	220
5,000 to 19,999	32	29	26	13	328
20,000 to 99,999	31	30	27	12	242
100,000 and over	32	29	29	10	506
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein	24	30	32	14	70
Hamburg	32	35	24	9	66
Lower Saxony	38	29	18	15	242
Bremen	10	35	50	5	20
North Rhine/Westphalia	30	28	27	15	515
Hesse	37	35	23	5	151
Rhineland/Palatinate	28	28	28	16	109
Baden-Wuerttemberg	27	27	30	16	217
Bavaria	34	25	24	17	320

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II. Understanding of Russian Intentions

MOST RECOGNIZED RUSSIAN INTENTIONS ...

If the majority of the West Germans were indeed unconcerned or unexcited about the Berlin situation, it cannot be said that they held that attitude because they were not really aware of what was at stake. Respondents in the sample were asked to select one of the five statements furnished them as indications of Soviet intentions in making their proposals about West Berlin.

Almost half (45%) recognized that the Soviets wished to "get the West out of Berlin and later absorb it into the DDR", while another sizeable group (15%) [illegible] recognition of the DDR by the West." Somewhat under two out of ten perhaps saw more long-range strategy through either the "use of Berlin to force Western acceptance of a solution to the German problem on Soviet terms" (13%) or by "forcing the West to agree to a general Four Power Conference in a situation advantageous to the Soviets" (5%).

Only a minority seemed to think that the Soviets merely intended to "keep the West off balance and in a crisis situation" (16%), or could not fathom what the Soviets might be up to (20%).

"What do you think the Soviets actually want to achieve with their proposals?" (CARD)

	West Germany
Get the West out of Berlin and later absorb it into the DDR	45%
Keep the West off balance and in a crisis situation	16
Want to force recognition of the DDR by the West	15
Force West to agree to a general Four Power Conference in a situation advantageous to the Soviets	5
Use Berlin to force Western acceptance of a solution to the German problem on Soviet terms	13
Don't know	20
	114%@

@Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ALL SEGMENTS OF THE GERMAN POPULATION AGREE ON SOVIET INTENTIONS ...

As study of the following data reveals, almost all segments of the West German population were in fairly close agreement as to the main aims of the Soviets in making their "West Berlin proposals." Roughly six out of ten in all population groups felt that the Soviets either intended to absorb West Berlin into the DDR, or at least hoped to force Western recognition of the DDR through this maneuver.

"What do you think the Soviets actually want to achieve with their proposals?" (CARD)

A - Get the West out of Berlin and later absorb it into the DDR
B - Keep the West off balance and in a crisis situation
C - Want to force recognition of the DDR by the West
D - Force West to agree to a general Four Power Conference in a situation advantageous to the Soviets
E - Use Berlin to force Western acceptance of a solution to the German problem on Soviet Terms

	A	B	C	D	E	Don't know	No. of cases
All West Germans	45%	16%	15%	5%	13%	20%..114%@	1710
Sex:							
Men	49	18	20	6	14	10 ..117%@	795
Women	42	14	10	3	12	28 ..109%@	915
Education:							
Elementary school	45	15	13	4	12	22 ..111%@	1399
High school w/o diploma	49	19	18	5	17	10 ..118%@	236
Diploma, university	40	16	41	8	21	7 ..133%@	75
Income:							
Up to 149 DM	51	9	4	-	15	28 ..107%@	53
150 to 299 DM	41	13	7	3	10	32 ..106%@	204
300 to 399 DM	45	16	17	5	16	18 ..117%@	215
400 to 499 DM	48	15	15	7	10	14 ..109%@	244
500 DM and more	49	19	18	5	14	14 ..119%@	558
No opinion	41	13	11	6	13	29 ..113%@	188
No answer	41	13	15	2	11	25 ..107%@	248
Age:							
Up to 24 years	43	18	17	6	12	16 ..112%@	204
25 to 34 years	50	14	17	4	13	13 ..111%@	276
35 to 44 years	46	17	13	4	11	19 ..110%@	295
45 to 54 years	47	14	14	5	13	21 ..114%@	414
55 years and over	41	16	15	4	14	24 ..114%@	521

(Cont'd on next page)

@Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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	A	B	C	D	E	Don't know	No. of cases
Party Preference:							
SPD	44%	17%	19%	5%	14%	14%..113%@	392
CDU/CSU	49	15	13	6	13	16 ..112%@	603
FDP	49	20	18	10	13	10 ..120%@	39
Other parties	60	19	14	5	21	7 ..126%@	42
No party	39	17	17	3	10	21 ..107%@	276
No opinion	39	11	6	2	11	38 ..107%@	190
No answer	41	17	15	4	12	27 ..116%@	168
Occupation (Breadwinner):							
Professionals	50	11	28	-	18	7 ..114%@	28
Businessmen	48	19	17	5	14	15 ..118%@	190
White-collar workers	44	22	21	6	14	10 ..117%@	335
Skilled laborers	51	13	13	3	15	17 ..112%@	338
Semi-skilled laborers	38	12	13	7	10	24 ..104%@	239
Farmers; farmhands	42	11	13	4	7	34 ..111%@	161
Unemployed	50	-	6	12	19	25 ..112%@	16
Pensioners; retured	45	16	12	4	13	24 ..114%@	398
Students; apprentices	50	-	25	-	-	50 ..125%@	5
City Size:							
Up to 1,999	40	15	14	4	12	27 ..112%@	414
2,000 to 4,999	50	17	13	3	9	19 ..111%@	220
5,000 to 19,999	50	12	8	4	10	21 ..105%@	328
20,000 to 99,999	48	21	17	7	16	16 ..125%@	242
100,000 and over	42	16	20	5	15	14 ..112%@	506
Land:							
Schleswig/Holstein	44	26	26	11	22	18 ..147%@	70
Hamburg	33	15	20	3	24	23 ..118%@	66
Lower Saxony	48	15	11	5	8	24 ..111%@	242
Bremen	50	40	20	-	10	15 ..135%@	20
North Rhine/Westphalia	47	15	15	6	15	16 ..114%@	515
Hesse	47	20	20	3	10	14 ..114%@	151
Rhineland/Palatinate	46	16	9	5	5	22 ..103%@	109
Baden/Wuerttemberg	40	15	19	2	16	22 ..114%@	217
Bavaria	45	12	10	4	10	22 ..103%@	320

@Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET INTENTIONS ONLY SLIGHTLY INFLUENCED BY SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH SITUATION VIEWED ...

Since we have already seen that only a minority of the West Germans called the Berlin situation "very serious", whereas a majority seemed to understand what the Soviets intended to accomplish with their latest announcement, it is necessary to determine whether those West Germans who did view the situation as more serious saw Soviet intentions as being anything different from those who did not.

The table below presents that cross-tabulation. From it we can note that while among those who called the West Berlin situation "very serious" 56% said that the Soviets wanted to get the West out of Berlin in order to absorb it into the DDR, there was but 43% with this opinion among those who did not feel that there was much to worry about. Although there can be no doubt about the statistical significance of this difference, it must also be noted that this gap is somewhat narrowed when we add to these figures those who saw the intention as "forcing the West to recognize the DDR" (14% in the first and 18% in the second group).

Another significant difference between the two groups is to be seen in the response to the B category (Keep the West off balance). More people (23%) among those who thought that the West Berlin situation was <u>not</u> serious chose that answer than was true for those who viewed it most seriously (14%).

	"How serious is the situation over Berlin now?" (CARD)			
"What do you think the Soviets actually want to achieve with their proposals?" (CARD)	Very serious (541)	Rather serious (489)	Not serious (434)	Don't know (246)
Absorb Berlin into DDR	56%	49%	43%	15%
Keep West off balance	14	18	23	4
Force recognition of DDR	14	18	18	3
Favorable Conference	6	4	5	1
Soviet solution of German problem	15	16	13	2
Don't know	11	10	10	75
	116%@	115%@	112%@	100%

@Some respondents gave more than one answer.

III. What Should Be Done?

ONLY ONE OUT OF TEN WANTS WEST TO USE FORCE TO STAY IN BERLIN ...
MOST POPULAR IDEAS ARE - "LET U.N. TAKE OVER"
"DEAL WITH DDR"

One of the most significant questions asked the sample was the following one on what they felt the Western Powers should do about Berlin. Again, a five category list of alternatives was offered to those being interviewed.

The two categories most often selected by this cross-section sample of the West German population were:

"They should let the U.N. take over West Berlin" - 27%

"Deal with the DDR in order to stay in Berlin" - 25%

In evaluating the answers to this question, the reader should bear in mind that this survey was carried out in West Germany during the last weeks of December 1958 - long before Senator Mansfield came out with his proposals involving the U.N.

"What should the Western powers do about Berlin?" (CARD)

	West Germany (1710)
Deal with the DDR in order to stay in Berlin	25%
Refuse to deal with DDR - using force to stay despite the risks involved	10
Refuse to deal with DDR - and supply allied Berlin garrisons by air	10
[illegible] ps from Berlin	3
They should let the U.N. take over West Berlin	27
Don't know	25
	100%

While roughly one-quarter of the total West German population liked the idea of having the U.N. take over responsibility for West Berlin, the proposal had special appeal for certain groups. Among the better educated, among businessmen and [illegible] of Hamburg, Bremen and Hesse the proportions favoring the idea ranged from a third to two-fifths.

The surprising strength of the idea to have the West deal with the DDR in order to stay in West Berlin can be noted in all population groups - reaching its peak in Bavaria, where over a third (34%) favored the idea.

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"What should the Western powers do about Berlin?" (CARD)

A - Deal with the DDR in order to stay in Berlin
B - Refuse to deal with DDR - using force to stay despite the risks involved
C - Refuse to deal with DDR - and supply allied Berlin garrisons by air
D - Withdraw allied troops from Berlin
E - They should let the U.N. take over West Berlin

	A	B	C	D	E	Don't know	No. of cases
All West Germans	25%	10%	10%	3%	27%	25%...100%	1710
Sex:							
Men	25	15	11	3	31	15	795
Women	25	6	8	3	23	35	915
Education:							
Elementary school	25	10	9	3	25	28	1399
High school w/o diploma	28	9	11	2	38	12	236
Diploma, university	17	21	9	3	39	11	75
Income:							
Up to 149 DM	17	13	2	2	30	36	53
150 to 299 DM	23	7	6	2	24	38	204
300 to 399 DM	30	10	9	3	25	23	215
400 to 499 DM	28	13	11	2	29	17	244
500 DM and more	26	12	11	3	32	16	558
No opinion	21	6	10	3	21	39	188
No answer	26	8	8	2	22	34	248
Age:							
Up to 24 years	26	9	7	5	25	28	204
25 to 34 years	28	7	11	2	34	18	276
35 to 44 years	27	10	12	2	27	22	295
45 to 54 years	27	10	10	4	23	26	414
55 years and over	21	12	8	2	27	30	521
Party Preference:							
SPD	29	11	7	6	29	18	392
CDU/CSU	24	12	13	2	26	23	603
FDP	23	10	10	3	39	15	39
Other parties	22	24	14	-	26	14	42
No party	28	8	8	2	28	26	276
No opinion	24	5	7	2	18	44	190
No answer	18	7	8	2	30	35	168
Occupation (Breadwinner):							
Professionals	43	11	11	-	21	14	28
Businessmen	26	9	10	2	33	20	190
White-collar workers	28	11	7	3	35	16	335
Skilled laborers	30	8	11	3	28	20	338
Semi-skilled laborers	22	12	12	4	20	30	239
Farmers; farmhands	24	9	9	1	16	41	161
Unemployed	19	19	-	6	31	25	16
Pensioners; retired	21	11	10	3	23	32	398
Students; apprentices	-	25	-	-	25	50	5

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	A	B	C	D	E	Don't know	No. of [illegible]
City Size:							
[illegible] to [illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	2%	[illegible]	[illegible] 100%	414
2,000 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	23	[illegible]	220
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	24	24	328
20,000 to 99,999	22	[illegible]	[illegible]	5	33	20	242
100,000 and over	2[illegible]	[illegible]	10	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	506
[illegible]							
[illegible]leswig/Holstein	29	[illegible]	10	3	24	21	70
Hamburg	[illegible]5	4	5	5	44	27	66
Lower Saxony	18	10	12	2	28	30	242
Bremen	25	[illegible]	10	[illegible]	40	25	20
North Rhine/Westphalia	24	12	10	2	25	27	515
Hesse	28	14	10	2	32	14	151
Rhineland/Palatinate	28	10	6	3	26	27	109
Baden/Wuerttemberg	23	11	11	3	26	26	217
Bavaria	34	5	8	4	24	25	320

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OUTSIDE OF APPEALING TO THE U.N. OVERWHELMING MAJORITY SEES NOTHING THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC CAN DO TO HELP ...

When presented with a similar list of possible lines of action for the Federal Republic, and asked to select the one best thing which they could do to help West Berlin, a majority either indicated that there was nothing for the Federal Republic to do (32%) or shrugged it all off by not answering the question (25%).

Among the remaining minority, the overwhelming choice was to "appeal to the U.N." (27% of all those interviewed). Hardly anyone selected either of the "militaristic" possibilities offered; to send the Bundeswehr (1%) or to call on NATO for military help (3%).

"What do you think is the best thing the Federal Republic should do for West Berlin?" (CARD)

	West Germany
Cut off trade with East Germany such as coal, steel deliveries	5%
Exert political pressure through the Western Powers	7
Appeal to the U.N.	27
Use the Bundeswehr	1
Call on NATO for military help	3
The Federal Republic cannot do anything since it is up to the Western Powers	32
Don't know	25
	100%

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REMARKABLE UNANIMITY OF OPINION ON WHAT FEDERAL REPUBLIC SHOULD DO ...

"What do you think is the best thing the Federal Republic should do for West Berlin?" (CARD)

A - Cut off trade with East Germany such as coal, steel deliveries
B - Exert political pressure through the Western Powers
C - Appeal to the U.N.
D - Use the Bundeswehr
E.- Call on NATO for military help
F - The Federal Republic cannot do anything since it is up to the Western powers

	A	B	C	D	E	F	Don't know	No. of cases
All West Germans	5%	7%	27%	1%	3%	32%	25%...100%	1710
Sex:								
Men	6	8	31	1	4	36	14	795
Women	5	7	22	1	3	27	35	915
Education:								
Elementary school	5	7	24	1	3	32	28	1399
High school w/o diploma	6	5	38	1	3	33	14	236
Diploma, university	3	15	42	-	3	29	8	75
Income:								
Up to 149 DM	6	9	17	-	2	28	38	53
150 to 299 DM	6	5	21	*	3	26	39	204
300 to 399 DM	4	8	26	-	3	36	23	215
400 to 499 DM	7	8	28	1	2	37	17	244
500 DM and more	5	9	31	1	5	34	15	558
No opinion	3	6	25	1	3	25	37	188
No answer	6	6	23	1	2	27	35	248
Age:								
Up to 24 years	3	8	28	1	5	29	26	204
25 to 34 years	5	9	33	1	3	30	19	276
35 to 44 years	4	9	24	-	4	36	23	295
45 to 54 years	6	7	28	1	4	28	26	414
55 years and over	6	6	22	1	2	34	29	521
Party Preference:								
SPD	6	9	28	1	3	36	17	392
CDU/CSU	5	8	30	1	4	29	23	603
FDP	-	8	46	-	5	23	18	39
Other parties	14	12	29	-	7	21	17	42
No party	8	5	25	1	2	34	25	276
No opinion	4	8	15	1	2	24	46	190
No answer	4	4	18	1	5	37	31	168
Occupation (Breadwinner):								
Professionals	7	4	46	-	-	29	14	28
Businessmen	5	8	28	*	5	33	21	190
White-collar workers	5	8	39	1	1	30	16	335
Skilled laborers	7	6	25	1	3	36	22	338
Semi-skilled laborers	5	7	21	1	5	33	28	239
Farmers; farmhands	5	6	17	1	3	28	40	161
Unemployed	6	6	38	-	-	25	25	16
Pensioners; retired	5	8	22	1	4	30	30	398
Students; apprentices	-	25	25	-	-	-	50	5

(Cont'd on next page)

*Less than one-half of one percent.

[redacted]

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	Don't know	No. of cases
City Size:								
Up to 1,999	4%	10%	23%	*%	3%	28%	32%...100%	414
2,000 to 4,999	5	5	25	*	4	35	26	220
5,000 to 19,999	9	6	21	2	3	32	27	328
20,000 to 99,999	5	5	35	*	5	28	22	242
100,000 and over	4	8	30	*	3	34	21	506
Land:								
Schleswig/Holstein	7	3	36	1	1	29	23	70
Hamburg	-	5	42	-	-	29	24	66
Lower Saxony	3	9	24	1	3	31	29	242
Bremen	-	5	40	-	-	40	15	20
North Rhine/Westphalia	6	8	23	1	5	31	26	515
Hesse	7	9	31	-	5	35	13	151
Rhineland/Palatinate	5	10	24	-	7	28	26	109
Baden/Wuerttemberg	5	6	26	*	*	37	26	217
Bavaria	7	6	27	1	3	30	26	320

*Less than one-half of one percent.

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REGARDLESS OF WHAT THEY WANT THE WESTERN POWERS TO DO FOR BERLIN WEST GERMANS CAN ONLY SEE THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT APPEALING TO THE U.N. (RATHER THAN EXERTING POLITICAL PRESSURE ON THEIR WESTERN ALLIES) ...

An interesting cross-tabulation of the answers to the two questions on what they would like to see the Western Powers and their own government do to help West Berlin shows that it hardly matters what they wanted the Western Allies to do, for when it comes to the Federal Republic, the great majority of those who indicate action at all for the Federal Republic want them to appeal to the U.N.

"What do you think is the best thing the Federal Republic should do for West Berlin?" (CARD)	"What should the Western Powers do about Berlin?" (CARD)					
	Deal with DDR	Use force	Use air lift	Pull out	U.N. take over	Don't know
	(433)	(174)	(163)	(47)	(458)	(434)
Cut off trade	7%	12%	8%	2%	4%	1%
Work through West	10	14	17	4	4	2
Appeal to U.N.	31	27	28	30	39	9
Use Bundeswehr	*	2	2	4	*	*
Call on NATO	2	11	4	4	4	*
Fed Rep can't help	38	28	32	41	39	17
Don't know	12	6	9	15	10	71
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Less than one-half of one percent.

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DESPITE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ON SERIOUSNESS OF BERLIN SITUATION, APPEAL OF 'U.N. TAKE OVER' EQUALLY STRONG ...

Surprisingly enough whether cross-tabulating answers to what the Western Powers should do about Berlin by the degree of seriousness accorded the matter, or whether it is what the Federal Republic should do by the same assessment of the seriousness of the new Berlin problem, the percentages "for" the U.N. are remarkably similar.

For example, in the first table below, which shows answers concerning Western Powers action by the degree of seriousness with which they viewed the matter, it can be seen that regardless of how serious they considered the Berlin affair, similar percentages wanted the West to turn West Berlin over to the U.N. (31%, 28%, 32%).

	"How serious is the situation over Berlin now?" (CARD)			
"What should the Western Powers do about Berlin?" (CARD)	Very serious (541)	Somewhat serious (489)	Not particularly/not at all serious (434)	Don't know (246)
Deal with DDR	33%	28%	24%	6%
Use force	11	12	11	2
Use air lift	7	13	14	1
Pull out	4	2	3	1
U.N. take over	31	28	32	7
Don't know	14	17	16	83
	100%	100%	100%	100%

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In the table concerning actions of the Federal Republic, the percentage wanting the government to appeal to the U.N. from among those who did not view the Berlin situation at all seriously (25%) is only smaller than the percentage from among those who called it serious (32%), because there are fewer people indicating that there is any action that the Federal Republic can take.

"What do you think is the best thing the Federal Republic should do for West Berlin?" (CARD)	"How serious is the situation over Berlin now?" (CARD)			
	Very serious (541)	Somewhat serious (489)	Not particularly/not at all serious (434)	Don't know (246)
Cut off trade	6%	5%	6%	2%
Work through West	8	10	8	1
Appeal to U.N.	32	31	25	4
Use Bundeswehr	1	1	1	-
Call on NATO	4	5	3	*
Fed Rep can't help	33	32	41	12
Don't know	16	16	16	81
	100%	100%	100%	100%

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*Less than one-half of one percent.

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IV. What Will Finally Happen

WEST GERMANS SEE SOVIETS AND WEST NOT WILLING TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT THE SAME TOPICS ...

In response to separate, but parallel questions about which points they felt that the Soviets and the Western Powers were willing to negotiate about, a picture of differences rather than of similarities between the two blocs emerges.

Aside from the cynical reply that the Soviets are not willing to negotiate about anything (chosen by 29% of the sample), the West Germans saw the Russians focusing upon a "demilitarized belt in Central Europe" (24%), and upon a "German Peace Treaty without reunification" (21%).

The Western Powers, on the other hand, were seen overwhelmingly interested in German reunification (61%), and hardly interested in negotiating on the two topics which were seen of primary importance to the Soviets (4% and 7% respectively).

"In view of Soviet announcements about Berlin, which of the following points do you think they are willing to negotiate about? And how about the Western Powers?" (CARD)

	Soviets	Western Powers
Reunification	5%	61%
German Peace Treaty without Reunification	21	7
Status of Berlin	17	17
Demilitarized belt in Central Europe	24	4
Nothing	29	9
Other items	4	4
Don't know	12	12
	112%@	114%@

@Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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SPD AND CDU ADHERENTS AGREE ON SOVIET, WESTERN POSITIONS ...

Tables showing the responses of individuals according to their group characteristics (age, sex, education, etc.) are not shown here because there are no significant differences to be found between any group and the national average. Even SPD and CDU adherents see Soviet and Western intentions in the same light. If we were to abstract the figures for these groups, there would be:

"In view of Soviet announcements about Berlin, which of the following points do you think they are willing to negotiate about? And how about the Western Powers?" (CARD)

	Soviets		Western Powers	
	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU
	(392)	(603)	(392)	(603)
Reunification	7%	5%	64%	66%
German Peace Treaty without Reunification	25	21	9	7
Status of Berlin	20	16	20	14
Demilitarized belt in Central Europe	29	23	3	3
Nothing	26	30	9	9
Other items	4	3	4	3
Don't know	5	10	6	10
	116%@	109%@	115%@	112%@

@Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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[redacted]

MAXIMUM OF THREE OUT OF TEN SEE SOVIETS AND WEST WILLING TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT THE SAME TOPICS ...

From the original table in this section one could see the difference in intentions attributed to the Soviets and the Western Powers. From the following table, which represents a cross-tabulation of replies concerning the topics the two opposing camps are willing to negotiate about, the reader can note that very few people who thought that the Soviets were willing to negotiate on a given point felt that the West would be interested in that same point - regardless of which one it was. The figures in any one cell are the percentage of the total sample making that reply.

Thus by adding together the percentages of the sample who felt that both the Soviets and the West would be interested in negotiating about a given point (the diagonal in the table which runs from upper left to lower right), there emerges a figure of 30%. This represents the maximum number of people who feel that the Soviets and the West are interested in negotiating about the same points.

"In view of Soviet announcements about Berlin, which of the following points do you think they are willing to negotiate about? And how about the Western Powers?" (CARD)

	Soviets						
	Reunification	Peace treaty	Status Berlin	Demilitarized belt	Nothing	Other	Don't know
Reunification	3%	18%	13%	19%	18%	1%	1%
German Peace Treaty without Reunification	*	1	2	3	2	*	*
Status of Berlin	1	6	6	7	4	*	*
Demilitarized belt in Central Europe	*	2	1	1	1	*	*
Nothing	1	1	2	1	6	*	*
Other items	*	1	1	1	*	2	*
Don't know	*	*	-	*	1	*	11

138%@
(1710)

*Less than one-half of one percent.
@Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ONLY SMALL MINORITY EXPECTS TROUBLE FROM WESTERN REJECTION OF SOVIET PROPOSAL ...

As a final question in the current inquiry, all respondents were asked to state what they thought would happen should the West reject the Soviet proposals concerning West Berlin. As with the opening query, it was a completely open question with the respondent free to answer in his own words.

For over three out of ten (31%) this was either too difficult a task or one that they had no ideas on, for they made no reply to the question.

Four out of ten (41%) did not anticipate any kind of trouble between the Soviets and the West, while only the remaining three-tenths (29%) felt that it would lead to strife, a blockade, or the Russians taking over all of Berlin.

"Suppose the West rejects the Soviet proposals, what in your opinion will happen then?"

Summary Table

	Western Germany
Expectations of trouble	29%
There will be strife, unrest, war	19%
The Russians will occupy all of Berlin	6
There will be another blockade	4
No expectations of trouble	41%
Nothing will change	20%
The Russians will give in	8
There will be discussions, conferences	7
The Western Powers will stay on	1
Miscellaneous answers	5
No answer, no opinion	31%
	101%@

@Some respondents gave more than one answer.

COMMENTS IN DETAIL ...

Expectations of trouble:	Western Germany
Strife, unrest, critical situation, war	19%
"The proposals will be rejected by both sides."	
"Then we'll probably have another war."	
"Then the Russians will come up with new threats."	
"The Russians will probably try to employ more pressure."	
The Russians will occupy all of Berlin	6
"The Russians will take possession of Berlin by force."	
"The troops of the Western powers will then be forced out of Berlin."	
"The Russians will employ force and launch an attack."	
"The Russians will march into Berlin."	
Isolation, blockade of West Berlin, air-lift will be necessary	4
"Then Berlin will be cut off from the West again and there'll be another operation 'air-lift'."	
"The Russians will enforce another blockade and introduce stricter regulations."	
"Then Berlin will come under pressure."	
"Then the Russians will isolate Berlin from the West."	
No expectations of trouble:	
Nothing will change (without additional comments)	20
"I think that for the time being nothing will happen."	
"Nothing will happen. The Russians, too, will stay in Berlin."	
"Things will carry on as before."	
"Nothing will happen. All occupation troops will stay in Germany. This is better than having the Americans leave Europe."	
The Russians will give in, they are only bluffing	8
"They don't dare to use force."	
"I think the Russians will withdraw."	
"Things will stay as they are, for the Russians will not use force."	
"I'm sure the Russians will calm down."	
"Nothing will happen, the Russians are only bluffing."	
Discussions, conferences, proposals, discussions will be continued	7
"Further discussions will be held, as usual."	
"Discussions will be held."	
"Nothing much will happen, they will continue with their discussions."	

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Western Germany

The Western Powers will stay on 1%

"The English, French and Americans will not be driven out of Berlin."
"The West will not give in."
"Nothing will happen. What could they do without America's approval?"

Miscellaneous 5

"It all depends on the strength of NATO."
"Then Germany will stay divided."
"I hope an atomic war will be avoided."
"Then the gap will be widened."
"Even if the Russians turn over their rights to the GDR, they must see how it works out."

No answer, no opinion 31

101%@

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@Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

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EVEN AMONG THOSE WHO CALLED SITUATION "VERY SERIOUS" LESS THAN MAJORITY EXPECTS TROUBLE IF WEST REJECTS SOVIET PROPOSALS ...

The extraordinary calm with which West Germans seem to regard the newest Berlin crisis situation is again found when answers to their expectations of what will happen should the West reject the Soviet proposal (which was an act in the future at the time the survey was made) are tabulated according to the degree of seriousness with which they regarded the problem.

There clearly emerges, in the table below, a direct correlation between the degree of seriousness accorded the situation as it stood in December 1958 and the probability seen that trouble would result from Western rejection of these Soviet proposals. Among those who felt that the situation was not serious, only 20% thought that there would be trouble in the event of Western rejection, whereas the percentage expecting trouble went up to 32% among those who considered it somewhat serious, and to 42% among those who saw it as very serious.

While this might be considered as only to be expected, it must not be overlooked that even among those who called the Berlin situation "very serious" as a result of the Soviet proposals less than a majority forsaw trouble. In fact, the percentage thinking that there would be no trouble is almost as large (34%).

	"How serious is the situation over Berlin now?" (CARD)			
	Very serious	Somewhat serious	Not serious	Don't know
"Suppose the West rejects the Soviet proposals, what in your opinion will happen then?"				
Expect trouble	42%	32%	20%	10%
Don't expect trouble	34	41	61	14
Don't know	25	27	20	76
	101%@	100%	101%@	100%

@Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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